"For all practical purposes, the main differences probably reflect difference in contact with foreigners. Ifalik was chosen for study because it has had a minimum of outside influence. Woleai represents the maximum. A missionary worked there in the 19th Century. The Japanese built an air-strip there during World War II. The Americans bombed the air-strip, and for a time at the close of the war, a few Americans were stationed there to maintain a LORAN station. A useful supplement to the Ifalik material would be a study of change on Woleai due to this contact."

1: Burrows--18 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 231, 177 Ifalik 1-2

"All three of the domesticated animals common in Pacific islands--dog, hog, and fowl--are present on Ifalik. There are also a few cats. All but the cats are used for food, but they do not make up an important part of the diet. Chickens are the most numerous, yet their flesh remains a delicacy. The eggs, which are very small, are rarely eaten.

Hogs are few. The little pigs are treated as pets, occasionally even suckled by the women. When they grow bigger their feeding seems to be rather haphazard. Indeed, except for coconuts and taro--of which they get the left-overs--there is not much food to spare for them. Some reach a good size, and look well fed. But pork is so highly prized, and meat of any kind so scarce, that they are a constant temptation. There seems to be little prospect of their number increasing greatly.

Dogs are not raised for food, but may be eaten on occasion. During our stay on the island, three were killed because they had bitten human beings. The first was driven into the lagoon and drowned there. The second was reported to have been eaten. Nothing was said about eating the third.

The people tell of rather recent introduction of all three species. In 1909, Sarfert found fowl and two dogs. There were no pigs. He was told that there had been a few cats, but all were lost in the typhoon of 1907.

The appearance of the hogs and chickens seems to bear out the story of recent introduction. The hogs are not long-snouted and razor-backed, Most of them look like

Berkshires. The fowls, too, are not long-legged and gamy, as an old native type might be expected to be. Many of them resemble our standard egg-producing breeds. Others are of less familiar colors, but these might develop from crossing.

The appearance of the dogs, though, is distinctive. All seem to be of the same breed. While there is some variation in size, they do not run to extremes either way. They average about the size of fox-hounds or a little less, but shorter in the barrel. The hind legs seem to be somewhat like those of a chow, --straighter than the form prevalent with us. They are short-haired, with pointed muzzles. The ears are pointed and partly erect, drooping over for about half their length. (One had bat ears.). The tails, feathered with somewhat longer hair, are carried high and curl over the back. In color most of them are black and tan, mainly black, with some tan on chest, belly, paws, face, and about the base of the tail. A minority are white with tan blotches; a very few, white all over."

I: Burrows--46-47 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 177, 342 Ifalik 1-2

"In practise, building an ordinary dwelling is a household undertaking, which any adult man may supervise. Building a canoe-house or men's house must be quite a rare event. None was put up during our stay, nor, so far as I learned, in the memory of anyone living. Several times particular timbers, which broke or were thought to be in danger of breaking, were replaced. In that way a building can be made to last indefinitely.

The indifference to house-building, as compared with other crafts, seems to reflect degeneration. Sarfert noticed in 1909 that painted decorations were to be found on only a few old house timbers, and inferred that houses had once been more elaborately decorated than they were at the time of his visit. The process has gone further since then. The rectilinear designs he found on a few timbers are not to be seen anywhere in Ifalik now, though something of the kind was noticed on the front of a shrine or god-house on Lamotrek.

More striking is the almost complete disappearance of what Damm, from Sarfert's notes, describes as the old type of house. It has squared timbers, which fit into each other and form a frame for panelled walls. To be sure, the account is somewhat confused; for instance, no names are given to correspond to some of the house parts numbered in a sketch, apparently redrawn from one by Sarfert. Yet some names of parts are given that differ from any I collected. Any gaps in detail do not obscure the general plan of the house, which seems to have been drawn from something Sarfert saw, not merely from something he was told of. The only building at all like it in 1947-48 was one

[47] of two occupied by Tom. Most of its timbers were of foreign sawed lumber. Walls of several buildings, including the men's house, were of lattice work, others of upright palings fitted into heavier beams. But the beams were unsquared logs, and the holes bored with foreign augers. In a few houses, however, the stringers are squared, as in Damm's 'old type'.

It seems probable that houses of hewn and fitted timbers were once more common than they are now. Yet timber can never have been abundant enough to make many of them. Most of the houses must always have been of a simpler type, presumably like the one that prevails now. This type is shown in Pl. 2a. Its structure is diagrammed in Fig. 11."

1: Burrows--83B (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 412, 284, 321, 177 Ifalik

"As recently as 1909, the time of Sarfert's visit, all the adz heads were of Tridacna shell, lashed with sennit to wooden handles cut from a forked branch. In 1948 no shell adz heads were to be found. Similar handles and sennit lashing are used to attach steel plane blades."

1: Burrows--83F (1947-48) Woleaians/Ifalik
116, 226, 177

"Another method [KS: of fishing] described by Sarfert--and attested by specimens of tackle used--consists of fishing for flying-fish with double-pointed gorges. These were attached by short lines to empty coconut shells, plugged so they would stay afloat. A number of them were tossed into the water. The bobbing of the shell showed when a fish was caught on one of the gorges. Bits of young coconut leaf serve as lures, a detail not noted by Sarfert. The following incantation accompanies this fishing technique, which is called mät:

Saū a li go!	Come, flying-fish!
Saū e li var!	Come bite my hooks!
Go tami le i meraku!	Do not delay!
Gou wa li geru a!	Come at once!
Mwa ramu gatāgei alo!	Hurry, before the sun comes up,
Tā perē la getriou.	And the red getriou buds open.
Ngē nutu ngē nut',	Up and down swim the hooked fish,
Nutu fē li pāle	They rise to the hook,
Nutu rangē rang'.	They fly out of the water.
Trū eru ge le mwanne!	Come through the water!
Saū e li var!	Come bite my hooks!

Go tai ninge mware ru e pa.	It is not good, two pieces of white leaf.
Go ninge mware rueik.	It is in good with twenty.

Nowadays steel hooks are used instead of wooden gorges. Foreign hooks have also--so far as my observation goes--replaced two other types collected by Sarfert: simple recurved hooks of tortoise shell, and large wooden ones for shark."

1: Burrows--83K (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 177 Ifalik

"Casting-nets are known in Ifalik, but little used. As it happens, I just once saw a man walking along the beach with a casting-net over his shoulder; and did not see him throw it. His net, and the others seen in the canoe-houses, were of imported cotton netting. This, and the fact that Damm does not mention casting-nets, suggest that they may be a recent introduction."

1: Burrows--129
116, 436, 177

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"It is noteworthy that the people of Ifalik do not make or use--and so far as I could learn, never did--any of the kinds of native currency which reached a remarkable development on Yap and Palau. To be sure, the material for the kinds most valued on Yap--huge limestone disks and dugong ivory--would have had to be imported to Ifalik; and the stone is too bulky to transport on canoes without great difficulty, while the dugong ivory is said to be extremely scarce even on Yap. (One necklace of what seemed to be this material was seen on Ifalik--about the neck of the chief WolpaitIk.) But there would be no such obstacle to the acquisition of shell currency, either by trading or by local manufacture. The absence of anything of the kind in the economic system of Ifalik illustrates the limited and selective character of cultural borrowing by Ifalik (and presumably by neighboring atolls of similar culture) from the more populous high islands. In this case the failure to adopt native currency may well have been influenced by the absence of selling and barter--indeed, the weakness of any concept of payment for a gift--in the local economy."

"Two other bits of decoration on this post [KS: front post in men's house], in which the specific symbolism is of foreign origin, require mention because of an incident that illustrates both how the people feel about rank and--a related matter--how they feel about the United States.

At the top of the post, when we arrived, was a Japanese flag, painted in black. From the first we thought we would eventually suggest changing this; but decided to let any suggestion of change wait until the people knew us better, and understood that suggestions of change were not what we were there for. (If any such idea of our mission had become current among them, it might have led them to conceal from us whatever of their culture they valued so highly that they did not want it changed.)

Below the flag were some Japanese characters. An American ship, on its next call, brought Cmdr. Kinney, then head of naval government in Yap district. He noticed both the flag and the characters, and had the latter translated. They represented the name Bwongulimoi, paramount chief some years before. Though Commander Kinney made no further comment, I decided to suggest to the chiefs not only that the painting of a Japanese flag be replaced by an American one, but that [135] the name of the former chief in Japanese characters be replaced by the names of all the chiefs then in office, written in the kind of characters Americans use.

As always, the chiefs accepted our suggestion. (Even if they had been unwilling, they might have been afraid not to accept it. Witness a remark by WolpaitIk, which Tom

translated to this effect: 'We'd better do whatever these Americans want us to. If we don't--no more chiefs!') In due time, Maroligar climbed the post, chipped off the Japanese flag, and--after failing on the first attempt--made quite an exact copy of the American flag given to the island by the navy (pl. 3). I was furnished a board, on which I set about outlining the names of the chiefs.

At this point Tom's thirst for glory made him want his name on the board, too. He argued plausibly that, since he was the interpreter, it would be a convenience for visiting Americans to have that fact posted. In a moment of weakness, I consented to suggest this to the chiefs. They agreed, as they always agreed to our suggestions. So I outlined the names of the chiefs on the board, in capitals; and below them, in smaller capitals and lower-case letters, 'Tom-Interpreter.'

I succeeded only in displeasing all concerned. Tom did not like being distinguished from the chiefs by having his name in smaller letters. The chiefs did not like having the name of a commoner on the ÓngarIk at all, but did not want to offend their American guest. They decided on a characteristic compromise, --to hang my placard on the ÓngarIk only when an American ship was anchored at Ifalik."

"Eastern Influence

The only story attributing important influence on Ifalik to an island farther east is that about the lore of seamanship (p. 67). The point of origin named in this myth* is Bwennap, said to be in sight from Puluwat. A version of this story is given in the German monograph on Woleai (Kramer, p. 285). The locality there is Polap, evidently what our charts call Pulap, ehich, judging by the charts, would indeed be barely in sight from Puluwat. And a footnote adds that on Lamotrek, Polap is called Bon'nap. This seems to locate the traditional origin of the lore of seamanship. Locating a mythical island may not be worth all that troublt; but ascription of the lore of seamanship to an island farther east does seem significant.

Names of two varieties of bananas ascribe to them an eastern origin; wIrIs Truk, Truk banana, and wIrIs Valupē. Valupē is said to be Ponape. The prized red paint made from turmeric root is said to have reached Ifalik in the old days by trade with either Yap or Truk. Tom used to translate the native name for it, rang, either as 'Yap paint' or 'Truk paint'. Texts of several love songs specifically mention Truk as

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"* The story about the lore of seamanship is called a myth rather than a legend because of its supernatural character and its function of explaining the origin of an institution.

the source of this paint or of other finery: a loin-cloth, a comb. Other islands to the east are also mentioned in songs; among them Namoin (Nomoi).

From all accounts, native and foreign, the language spoken on Ifalik and neighboring atolls resembles that of islands to the east, at least as far as Truk, more than it resembles the language of Yap. If this is substantiated by adequate linguistic comparison, it will indicate relationship between Ifalik and islands to the east much more fundamental than the bits of diffusion suggested by the details just given.

What this eastern influence amounts to--its relative strength and age as compared with influence from Yap--could only be determined by a thorough cultural comparison beyond the scope of this local monograph."

1: Burrows--164 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 177 Ifalik

"Spiro came upon one bit of Christian tradition when questioning Gargeligar, who might be called a native priest, about sickness and healing. Gargeligar said that at one time there was no sickness. When asked further, he gave a fairly full version of the story of Adam and Eve, applied to ancestors of the Ifalik people, --whether on Ifalik or not, he was not certain. The account of an original state of blissful ignorance, replaced by suffering as punishment for eating forbidden fruit, seemed little changed. Indeed, it fits readily into the native ideology, with its concept of punishment for violation of a taboo. The serpent was omitted from the first version, but remembered overnight. Gargeligar said he learned the story from his grandmother, which makes a Spanish source more likely than any other."

1: Burrows--164
116, 177, 212, 797

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The name 'Yfaluc' appears in a list of names of islands collected by the Spanish Jesuit priest Paul Clain from 1678 to 1696; but the Spanish, though they were settled on Guam in the 17th century, and had some claim to all this part of the Pacific, never visited Ifalik, so far as available evidence shows. During the 19th century they sent missionaries to most of the islands round about, but for some reason omitted this one. The people of Ifalik know about these batre (padre), and how they opposed the native religion. In 1947 some visitors from Woleai rather pointedly stayed away from a native religious ceremony held on Ifalik during their stay. This was understood as the effect of a missionary's work on Woleai long ago, and caused no comment.

Traces of Spanish or missionary influence on Ifalik are few. Perhaps the most important is the system of writing known to some of the natives. It came to Ifalik from Woleai, where it was taught by a missionary. Maroligar knew enough of it to keep a note-book in which he had written some song texts. The letters were obviously derived from our alphabet. I did not attempt to learn or analyze this writing. It seemed to be adequate for recording the text of a song, but was known only to a few, and very little used even by them."

1: Burrows--164-165 (1947-48) Woleaians 1.2
116, 177 Ifalik

"Islands more or less closely resembling Ifalik in name and position appear on several charts of the early 18th century. These charts were drawn partly on the basis of names and sailing directions obtained from native informants. The first European vessel to sight the island appears to have been the missionary ship 'Duff', Captain James Wilson, which reached there on the 27th of October, 1797. The 'Duff' did some trading with the natives, but Wilson's account of the voyage has nothing further to say about them.

Some whalers and perhaps other foreign ships called at Ifalik between the visit of Wilson and the next one on record, that of Captain Frederick Lutke. He called at the 'Wilson Islands' on April 3d, 1828, and noted the native name, 'Ifalouc'.

Lutke noted that the natives differed from all other Caroline Islanders he had seen in their 'boisterous spirit' (humeur criarde). Two of them went overboard with loose pieces of ironware. Others tried to detach pieces that were fastened. Lutke recovered the stolen pieces by notifying the chief, who was aboard, that he would not be allowed to leave the ship until the iron was returned. Von Kittlitz, who called about a generation later, was told by whalers that the natives of this island demanded exhorbitant prices for their wares. At least one other visit is recorded during the 19th century, that of the English trader [165] Cheyne, and presumably there were several that never got into print. My informants recalled that an American named Keefe used to put in at Ifalik before the German times. He was in partnership, they said, with another American

named Louis or Luis, who kept a trading post on Lamotrek. A daughter of his, supposed to be enormously rich, was said to be still living on Woleai. Keefe is pretty surely D. D. O'Keefe, celebrated for importing stone money to Yap from the Palaus. (He claimed American citizenship.)"

"For short periods during the latter part of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th, foreign traders lived on Ifalik. Damm mentions a white trader whom the natives called 'Sau'. He was there while Olaitiu was paramount chief, but left before the typhoon of 1907, when Olaitiu was lost at sea. During the typhoon, Damm reports, there were three Japanese on the island; but they left immediately after. However, these traders can not have had very much to sell. The best proof is that when the German expedition visited the island in 1909, all the adzes in use were of shell, though some of the drills had iron points.

A decided change came after the Germans, who took over the whole area at the turn of the century, brought in more transportation. They developed a fairly regular trade in copra. They also took natives as laborers on copra plantations as far away as Samoa, and as phosphate diggers, not only on nearby Fais but, if my information is correct, on Angaur.

German methods of labor recruiting are described in the following excerpts from a native song:

They come to the men's house
Where the people are assembled,
And seize men to take them away.

They came in the afternoon

And hunted men by night.
Nobody could sleep for fear of them.

In front of the men's house
The Germans line up the Caroline men.
They are pleased to see so many--
They have captured ten,
Strong men all.

'Come along! Get into the raft!'
They feel the arms of the captives,
And chuckle with glee
To find them so strong.
The first mate takes them aboard.

German influence, though decidedly stronger than any that had preceded it, still left few traces by 1947. Tom used to say 'deutsch' for German, and had a memory of Germans as men with very white skins and knotty muscles. Perhaps the greatest change was in wider knowledge of the outside world, and in replacing the 'boisterous spirit' of Lutke's day by a more submissive one."

1: Burrows--166
116, 177

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Damm's mention of three Japanese on Ifalik in 1907 has already been noted. My informants told a somewhat different story. They remembered only one Japanese, a little old man married to a woman from Woleai. Tom told me, after consulting others, that this Japanese lived on Ifalik for 10 years; but since they do not keep track of years, this means only that he was there for a considerable time. During the typhoon of 1907, he had to swim for his life, but with native help, succeeded in getting to higher ground. He worked for the Germans--presumably the Jaluit Company, which is said to have maintained a station on Ifalik.

The Japanese took over the islands in 1914. After World War I, when the area was mandated to them by the League of Nations, they resumed the copra trade. They had a trading store in Rauau district, but kept it closed except when their ship was in port. The most conspicuous effect of their regime on native life is in cooking. The native earth oven is now used only for cooking the meat of fairly large animals; pig, turtle, and such large fish as bonito and tuna. As these are not part of everyday diet it may be said that the earth oven is used only for festive occasions. Ordinarily household cooking is done mostly in Japanese iron pots or mess-kits, many of them fitted with tight covers for cooking rice.

A few other Japanese articles are in fairly general use: small fish nets of cotton cord, fish-hooks, tools, cloth, and dyes for cloth of native weave. A little shrine in the men's house has a Shinto look, though used for divination of a native sort."

1: Burrows--166
116, 159, 609, 177

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The Japanese gave the people some medical service when their ships were in port, and put some boys from Ifalik to school in Yap. Talimeira, a decidedly intelligent boy assigned by the chiefs to work for us, had spent several years at this Japanese school. He seemed able to speak and read Japanese fairly well, as far as we could judge. Certainly he picked up English amazingly fast while we were there. As to his attitude toward the Japanese, he was non-committal. Probably he got along well with them, as he would with anybody. But he had had enough of school. Asked whether he would like to go to an American school and learn to be a doctor, he smilingly but firmly declined. He wanted to spend the rest of his life in Ifalik, though he had no prospect of a chiefly title or other preferment. Thinking the matter over, we wondered whether this might not be one more proof of his superior intelligence."

1: Burrows--166-167 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 466, 609, 177 Ifalik

"Tom and other older men told us several stories of the domineering behavior of the Japanese. Though celebrated for courtesy among themselves, they evidently had none of it to spare for their Micronesian wards. This was particularly disagreeable to the people of Ifalik, because of the high value they place on courtesy or, as Tom called it, 'fine talk'. These stories were no doubt intended partly to flatter us. It might be supposed that, since the Japanese were recent enemies of our country, we would be pleased to hear an unfavorable account of them. Yet we saw no reason to suspect the natives of lying.

'You sit right down on the mats beside us to talk with us', they said. 'The Japanese used to pile one box on top of another. Then one of them would get up on the highest box and talk to us. Very bad talk.'

More specific was their account of the Japanese method of recruiting labor, which had advantages over the German method from the point of view of the recruiters, but not from that of the islanders. According to this [167] account, when the Japanese wanted men--which they did mostly for phosphate mining on Angaur--they would come ashore, seize the chiefs, and then make known the number of laborers they wanted. If these were not quickly forthcoming, they would beat the chiefs." '

"The first American contact during World War II was unfortunate. The Japanese had a landing strip on Woleai, 30 miles away. During the period when the Americans, without attempting to land in the Carolines, were neutralizing Japanese bases there and leaving their garrisons to 'wither on the vine', while Americans by-passed on both sides, Woleai was bombed often enough to keep the air-strip out of use most of the time. Americans flew now and then over Ifalik; and one of them sprayed the atoll--or at least Rauau district--with a machine-gun. I believe the native account of this because they said they could hear the bullets cutting through the leaves, a detail they would not be likely to invent. No damage was done. The chief WolpaitIk was in the lagoon, tending a fish-trap. The natives now make a funny story of his frantic scramble ashore. Yet they were sufficiently afraid of American planes so that when the first of several passed over at night during our stay, and flashed a spot-light on Falālap, they were rather panicky, and we were suspected of getting information to be used for their destruction, and of communicating with the plane with a flash-light. (I had gone out on a stone pier to watch it pass, and called to Spiro, who was in the lighted tent; but I had no flash-light.) We assured them that American planes, the only ones in the area, would do them no harm; and after they found that the first one had passed over peaceably, they were little disturbed by the others.

This machine-gunning may have been a mistake, for the aerial photograph of Ifalik used to illustrate this report was labelled 'Woleai'. Or it may have been intended to

intimidate any Japanese or supporters of theirs who happened to be on Ifalik. Or, finally, it may have been a case of trigger-happiness. In any case, the terror it inspired seems not to be insuperable."

1: Burrows--167-168
116, 787, 609, 177

(1947-48)

Woleaians 1-5
Ifalik

"The last stanza or section of the long religious invocation said to have been sung by the god TIIItr, when he took possession of the body of his native oracle Gargeligar, predicts an American victory over Japan. Both Gargeligar himself, who was the mouthpiece of the god, and Tom--ordinarily inclined to make light of Gargeligar's pretensions--assured me that this prophecy was uttered long before American planes reached that part of the Pacific. I wondered if the name of the victors might have been changed in the process, and even asked about it; but of course it was consistently denied. This part of the song, as worked up from Tom's translation, follows:

The war will soon be over.
The end of the fighting is near.
Soon the Americans will come.
All you women and children who offered me flowers,
Fear no more!

A passage so similar as to seem referable to the same revelation appears in a prayer or invocation to cure illness of the head, which was given by Gargeligar to Spiro. Gargeligar said it was given to him [168] by the god TIIItr, who in turn got it from his grandfather, omniscient Aluelap. Tom's translation, as edited by Spiro, follows:

Japan will succumb to America.
I will aid the god of America, I will end the war,
The war of men in combat.

For the Caroline people fear the war,
Greatly fear the war.
The girls and boys who make flowers for the gods
Fear the war.

Two other, less important mentions of America occur in the texts of love-songs. In one, the infatuated woman sings 'I am caught fast, as with an American fish-hook.' I asked Tom about the age of this song. He said it was written long ago, but that the people knew of the excellence of American fish-hooks even then. Since the trader Keefe called himself American, this may be true.

The other mention was in a song written about the chief Maroligar, during his youth, by the woman who is now his wife. The lines were:

Fe la gili ameriki
Naro pia fili ma jem(u.

Tom translated it: 'You are like an American flag in my heart.' This time, particularly, I suspected that Maroligar might have changed 'Japanese' to 'American' in dictating the song; in baseball talk, might have pitched Tom a fast one, too hot for him to handle. For Tom, in translating, seemed a bit confused; and in his first muttering, said something about 'Spanish man', which was his way of saying 'Japanese'. (He had the two peoples distinct in his mind, but confused the English words for them.) I attempted to corner him with questions; but, even if my suspicions were right, he and

Maroligar were on their guard now. However that may be, I could not shake their story. Because of the importance of kindly talk, I did not think it worth while to press the matter. After all, even if the name was changed, that very fact shows that they are anxious to please."

1: Burrows--168-169 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 609, 177 Ifalik

"The substitution of an American flag for a Japanese flag at the top of the OngarIk, or front post of the men's house, has been mentioned in discussing symbols of rank. Maroligar took his time about making the change. The suggestion was made--at least to Tom, to report to the chiefs--on September 4. It was not until November 23 that Maroligar began chipping off the Japanese flag. Still, I never knew the natives to hurry unless there was desperate reason to, as when a thatched roof caught fire, or a school of bonito was sighted in the lagoon. And this time there was no particular need to hurry.

Once, early in the course of our stay, WolpaitIk said to the other chiefs 'We'd better do whatever these Americans want us to. Otherwise--nomore chiefs.' WolpaitIk, it seemed to me, covered a very sensitive nature with a bluff front. He was given to bluff statements, which might be taken seriously or jokingly. Undoubtedly there is some fear in their attitude toward Americans. What they have heard of the bombardments of Woleai and Yap--some of their young men were in Yap at the time, and they probably had eyewitnesses on Woleai, too--gave them a great impression of American power. But they usually spoke of it--to us, at [169] least--with admiration rather than fear. Even in talking of the machine-gunning on Ifalik, they tended to make a joke of it.

But our best evidence of their attitude toward Americans is their treatment of us. Their kindliness, helpfulness and solicitude have been evident throughout this report. And we are convinced that fear had very little to do with it. While they could be

intimidated, there seems to be no need of that. Kindly treatment is both easier and more profitable, for they repay it in full."

1: Burrows--189-190 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 771, 177 Ifalik

"One ritual that was never seen can not be classified for lack of clear understanding of its purpose. It was a specialty of the second-ranking chief, Maroligar, and involved apparatus kept in the men's house, Katēlū. On one of the middle posts, just below the tie-beams or about 6 feet from the floor, hangs a bag of sennit cord, subconical in shape. A slender wooden rod, about 2 feet in length and 1/4 inch in diameter, is threaded in and out across the top of the bag. Below, about a foot from the floor, is a platform approximately 5 feet square with vertical side-boards. The poles that support the corners continue upward to a height of about 4 feet, where they are connected by cross-pieces. These form a kind of rack, on which are hung cloths as offerings. Other offerings--garlands, tobacco--are sometimes left on the platform. The whole suggests a rude Shinto 'god-shelf' and its form decidedly suggests Japanese influence.

[190] Tom, when asked what this apparatus was and how it was used, said that inside the sennit bag are 12 shells of a mollusc called livou rór, that lives under stones by day, and comes out at night. Ordinary specimens of this creature are eaten. A shell that he brought to show what they are like is a flat spiral 2 or 3 inches in diameter and about 3/8 of an inch thick, with an elaborate pattern of brown markings on a white background. Each of the shells in the bag has a name of its own.

From time to time, Tom explained, people bring an offering to Maroligar, and ask him to perform the ritual. He takes down the bag, opens it, lays the shells on a fine pandanus mat, touches each of them with the stick, and names it. The names are known

only to a few, and Tom was either unable or unwilling to reveal them. He gave no more details about the ceremony, but said that after it is performed there is a taboo on work, for the whole population, for four days. Thereafter 'there is plenty of food of all kinds, both sea food and vegetables.' People bring food from all parts of the atoll, and consume it in a communal feast at the men's house. Obviously Tom's description was minimal. The obvious next step, questioning of Maroligar, was postponed, in the hope that we would have an opportunity to see the ritual performed. But this never happened during our stay, and the interview with Maroligar was still pending when the ship returned and took us away. From Tom's description, the ceremony seems to be a form of invocation. Yet the touching and naming of the shells has the look of divination."

2: Damm et al. --27 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 241, 177 Ifaluk

There is a small selection of edible plants and fruit trees; three kinds of taro (wűlak, wőd, file), bananas (widj), coconut palms (lű) and bread-fruit trees (mái). Sugar-cane (wőu) and pumpkins (galawás) were introduced by white men.

2: Damm et al. --32-33 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 372, 177 Ifaluk

According to the natives, Mòdj brought the art of fire-making from Yap. In olden days people did not know how to produce fire (jáf; buleliáf [33] the flame); so they ate everything raw, even meat. Today there are two methods of making fire:

a) the fire drill (liák), síne liák- flat stick, lâu liák- vertical and rotating stick.

b) the fire plane or fire groove (lâulít), síne lâulít - flat stick, lâunâulít- grooving stick.

The fire saw is unknown.

To kindle the flame they use the ordinary type of woven fan (sâlbo), which is common throughout the Carolines.

felâri - hearth, fire place, wurak - smoke, marodj - ash, fafi - firewood.

2: Damm et al. --45 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 177, 437 Ifaluk

In olden days there was more commercial activity than in 1909; however, the Ifaluk natives never equalled the skill of the Polowat people in this respect. At the time of the Hamburg South Sea Expedition they still purchased the fine spondylus shells on Aurepik and Truk, and paid for them with loin aprons and knives. The tribute voyages for Yanelap are not so important as they used to be either.

2: Damm et al. --59 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 344, 177 Ifaluk

Fenăp is the house for bachelors; the natives called it the "house belong king." These houses are public buildings. Usually women were not allowed to enter them. It was only when the king wanted to address all the inhabitants of the island to give orders or discuss laws, that women and children gathered here with their male relatives.

A long time ago there were no houses of this kind. Under the reign of Dibŏdăn a man from Yap, Fagil by name, was blown to Ifaluk, and he built the first fenăp. The natives built three others on this pattern. According to the Yap style, these all had a stone foundation in the water, and they were joined to the shore by a stone bridge. Two of them were on the main island (one on Ledjōurou and one on Lawuaū) and two on Falalap (one in the south and one is the northern district); the other parts of the village did not have any fenăp, so they had to be content with canoe houses. The typhoon destroyed all of them except one on Lawuaū, which is called Kadalū, and which served as an abode for Sarfert during his visit. It was 21 meters long, 5 1/2 meters wide and 5 meters high.

All of the men in one section of the village worked on the common canoe house, and when it was completed, they celebrated the event with a dance. Drawing 158 [AN: see source, p. 59] shows the floor plan of the only men's house still standing. The large supporting pillars on the sides (šūlefan) were made of big stones, and a platform was built on the central post; this was used when the king spoke to the people. Both the pillars and the platform were characteristic of these constructions...

2: Damm et al. --99
116, 177

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

The following story tells how the Ifaluk natives learned to write [AN: see drawing 180 of source]. A Truk missionary, who was on his way from Olol to Truk, was blown off his course to Aurepik; several Truk natives were with him. He stayed in Aurepik for quite a while, until a boat came from Oleai with the chief. The latter asked the missionary to go home with him. So the missionary and his Truk inhabitants accompanied the hospitable chief to Oleai, and settled there. At that time there was a merchant on Oleai. The Truk men already knew how to write, and they taught their hosts. Finally they went back home by way of Ifaluk and Lamutrik, and so these islanders learned the letters too.

2: Damm et al. --111 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 131, 177 Aurupik

Lütke made the first exact cartography of the island (1828), but he only saw the archipelago from a distance*, and so he could only give an approximate picture of it. The various Naval Staff charts of the seafaring powers do not give any exact picture of the group either; the first officer Lorenzen of the "Peiho" was the first to survey it and to make a map (see Fig. 183).

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* Cheyne (1852, page 138) says that you can see the islands at a distance of 12-13 miles from the ship's deck.

Z: Damm et al. --118 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 141, 177 Aurupik

You realize how little contact these natives have had with civilization when you learn that Hambruch could not get any anthropological measurements because the natives were afraid of the instruments.

2; Damm et al. --168 [5] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 177, 276 Faraulep

Aside from the foods, the natives have a few extras, and first on the list comes tobacco (tomáxo); it can not be strong enough to suit them. This plant was introduced from Guam, and now it is grown on the island, but the American twist tobacco is preferred.

2: Damm et al. --169 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 412, 177 Faraulep

Formerly the most important tool was the shell ax (ɣapál); it had fallen into disuse in 1909, and only the "sacred axes" had preserved the old form. Shell blades of Tridacna or cassis - porugí or tará (the blade is kept sharp with a grindstone [uáre]), cutting edge -metád, upper side - lugúl, lower side - nán, handle for the hatchet - fm mé ím, wrapping - fórfór. Then finally, there were the tools for the finer work: files - (váim) of coral stone, awls (etáu), drills (purepúr).

2: Damm et al. --180 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 789, 177 Faraulep

As on all the Carolines, the natives practice weather magic with carved wooden figures (xóós), equipped with ray stings (sting - pera, ray - fáix); occasionally they are hung with several coconut leaf knots (úwud) and with Seepocken to hold color to paint the statue. They are treated the same way as on Polowat. The much-traveled man Buimén brought this weather magic to Faraulip.

Before a long voyage the natives conjure Thelán in the following way: they blow a conch shell, and then hang it up in the big house where they return. Mats and coconuts are sacrificed to Alülue on the out-rigger. When they pull a sail boat on to the beach they sing a long song (báne), which really resembles a working song. [CS: Omission of the text of the song.]

2; Damm et al, --187 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 411, 721, 177 Faraulep

In former times there were a good many wars (fitéx), and today the natives fight with spears, sticks and knuckle dusters of sharks teeth (rajarás). They hurl stones with their hands. No bows and arrows are used. The victor orders the battle to cease. Declaration of war - máud, armistice - elamêle máud.

2: Damm et al. --190-191 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 177, 764 Faraulep

Formerly the dead were buried, and stone pavements were laid over their graves (ʒétje). Then the Yap natives, who thus fulfilled the wish of the god Yónelaf, urged them [191] to bury the bodies in the sea. This applies to the inhabitants of Oleai, Ifaluk, Aurepik and Faraulip. This information of Hambruch is especially interesting because it connects the two types of burial in point of time, and it also shows that the sinking of the dead is tied up with the Yónelaf cult. If we consider that there were migrations to the Carolines from the east and the west on the basis of the spread of the aînan, Hambruch's statement shows the most important elements of the wave of culture that infiltrated from the west.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--257 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 161, 177, 441 Woleai

[AN: Considerable increase of ethnographic material noted by Hellwig].... There were many similarities to Truk culture, and we found material proof of the earlier direct relations with the remote Truk group. Many ornaments had come from Aúrepik and the rather distant Ngulú and Poloot (Puluwat) groups. A Spanish and a Japanese merchant, who before the typhoon had trade stations on the group, are said to have imported special ornaments of Spondyl shell. To this Japanese, the natives apparently owed the iron kitchen pots and the other European implements that could be found in every household.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--259 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 167, 177, 755 Faraulep

The entire group had been resettled by persons from Ifaluk after the original inhabitants had annihilated each other in lasting feuds. In discussing this question the chief advanced the opinion that many a sickness had been imported through contact with European vessels, and he also made the presence of our ship responsible for the prevailing headcold and coughing epidemics. In earlier times there had been many old people; at present, however, this was not the case anymore, and people died off while they were still rather young. This is an old complaint, and not altogether without justification. ...Hambruch had gained the impression that a high percentage of the population had been infected with syphilis. After a few days the chief himself caught a headcold, and the sorcerer spoke his magic formula, passed a bunch of leaves gently over the sick man and sang at the same time his monotonous exorcising chant.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--261-262 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 165, 177 Lamotrek

At present, many inhabitants are affected by influenza; in recent times 14 people died of it, and children may die within one day. [626] In addition, dysentery has killed victims. Thus the probability that diseases are spread by the voyages of the natives is much greater than the alleged importation of all kinds of diseases by the vessels of the whites. Only for venereal diseases the whites may be made responsible.....In earlier times the population of Lamutrik amounted to 1000 persons; twenty years ago there were only about 300 left, and now there are only ca. 220.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--263 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 484, 177 Elato

Prior to the typhoon the islanders had been in close contact with Wólea, Aúrepik, Poloot (Poloat), Sátuwal, and the near island of Lámutruk; with Truk, however, they stood only in loose contact.

4: Krämer--9-10 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 177 Lamotrek

After 1900 government representatives have rarely visited the remote island. The Deutsche Kolonialblatt 1906, page 263, records one visit; the main reasons were the scale insects of the coconut palms and the prevention of the consumption of toddy. The visit lasted from December 1-3, 1905 (see Oleai).

A. and E. Krämer stayed here from November 21 to December 10, 1909; Hambruch was on Elato from November 20-25. [10]

The fact that, making the voyage with my wife, I did not use the ship of the expedition but the mail steamboat "Germania" for my crossing to Truk, indicates that Lamotrek at that very time was included in the main service lines. It is true that the boat only called for copra. The island was not yet visited by whites.

4: Krämer--14 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 177, 797 Lamotrek

There is no [MR: mission] station on the island [MR: of Lamotrek] but influence is extended from Truk and from the west.

4: Krämer--32 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 177, 167 Elato

At the time of Ilematip the first whites came to Elato.

In the old times chief Teiar came from Truk with his people subjected Elato and ruled over the island. When he was in office the natives of Ifaluk came over and killed all the inhabitants of Elato. Elato was settled anew by the people of Ifaluk. Möz was the chief. At that time all the natives of Nämeliaur were also slain and those of Lamütsik were greatly decimated. Elato is a colony of Ifaluk.

The following types of striped mats are known: marŭp made of gilifer with five or six stripes; it is a coarse, plain weave which is often dyed with traded dyes. The black, green or dark blue stripes are broken by white, red or other colors and the intervening sections appear uniformly light. I did not see these mats in the unfinished state while work was done on them; they occur identically on Sëtoval and thus it is possible that they have been traded on that island. They look very modern; I learned that on the surrounding islands of Sëtoval, Pollap and others no weaving had been done, because it was taboo. [77]

I shall now go on to describe the characteristic mats with three stripes; additional ornamentation of them are the black patterns which are produced by fibers introduced in the direction of the weft, which constitute the transverse bands at the beginning and the end of the mat. In the course of weaving black gilifer fibers are sent through the warp threads between every weft by means of a little wooden rod; they are fastened and held secure by the following weft. This is plait weaving known as dab.

Second Type of Mat.

The peig mats have three stripes and are woven of fine, white uidj fibers with narrow black marginal stripes and a wider black stripe in the center* and very narrow red threads may be used in the center; Plate 6a-f [VMM: see source].

*Plate 6b [VMM: see source] has three wide stripes peig na tas.

We must add in the case of the majority of the peig the dab pattern, latitudinal stripes at the beginning and the end of the mat, which are very delicate in these fine mats.

The black stripes in the longitudinal direction may either be weaves of uidj or gilifer; the dab patterns are always made of gilifer fibers, which in their dull blackness contrast very nicely with the glossy, light uidj.

My studies of native weaving were greatly aided by the assistance of Bessi (Plate 3d [VMM: see source]), the half-breed daughter of the English trader Lewis.... In order that I might become familiar with the various dab patterns, she wove for me an exceedingly beautiful, abundantly ornamented mat (Plate 7d [VMM: see source]) with a great variety of latitudinal designs (Figure 49 [VMM: see source]). It has the name najile malugelep al--dab o fasch and belongs to the group of the three-striped peig alali pelach (with plain weave). The wide stripe in the center is broken by two white, and one red, lines. In the plaiting work, dab, red and green threads have been used in addition to black ones and this variety is a concession to modern times. The patterns however are of the true old type and have names and significance. Some of them are said to have originated on other islands. [VMM: see source Figure 47, for illustrations of the following designs.] When one begins at the upper end, one comes first to

1. A. uasstich — pattern for the beginning of the mat
2. B. Iangodab — a very narrow border which serves to outline a pattern

		and which appears immediately above C.
3.	C. sepasse iliuil	canoe sails of several boats that sail together.
4.	B. langodab	see B, directly underneath C.
5:	D. uadj	neck tattooing of a man
6.	B. langodab	see B. [78]
7.	E. fäsilümat	eye (from Faraulap)
8.	B. langodab	see 6. B.
9.	D. uadj	see 5. D.
10.	F. uägüpä	unexplained
11.	G. garrach	plant design from Ifaluk
12.	H. ngingi	neck tattooing of a man
13.	J. bub (pup)	a fish (see Truk, page 150 X) [79]
14.	K. päülümel	a flying bird
15.	J. bub	fish, see 13.
16.	C, kusae	pattern from Kusae
17.	M. fäülümat	eye, from Ifaluk (see 7)
18.	C, kusae	see 16
19.	N. gogotjub	see 12
20.	O. pöulul	"round thing"
21.	P. ngilipaggo	shark's tooth (Truk, page 188 b).

22. Q. ligongare Ifaluk pattern
23. R. B =Bessi, the plaiter
24. S. fatarigavŭong small animals of the sea lined up

The majority of these plaiting patterns definitely have a left side, but there are some among them which look alike on both sides. If the latter are used for a fine peig mat, and if the decorative stitches appear alike in the black longitudinal stripes on both sides, then we are dealing with a rare and valuable mat, which is called peig galut.

It has been mentioned above that peig also exist without dab patterns; they are shown on Plate 6d and f [VMM: see source]. Finally we want to refer to the lugŭllŭ uidj, mats of coarsely split banana fibers, which may be compared to the peig, except that they are much coarser. As in the case of the peig, there exist various sub-types: 1. completely white without any ornamentation, 2. with black stripes along both sides and with or without dab (Plate 6h [VMM: see source]) 3. with a central stripe in addition to the stripes along the edges, which makes the mat three striped, 4. three-striped and ornamented with dab, having at both ends coarse, simple patterns of black gilifer fibers (Plate 6c [VMM: see source]). All these mats have plain weaves. In addition to the local weaving products, one sees mats imported from Truk; especially men are fond of the plain, white banana fiber mat, which is called aliel; a yellowish type is known as garite. ngăremus and pagutiu are two types of mats for women that come from Truk.

4: Krämer--76-79
116, 285, 531, 177

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-5
Lamotrek

Words:

fisudab	lattice weave (of dab pattern)
djuidab	needle used for the lattice weave
famalúdab	pattern of the dab

4: Krämer--189
116, 103, 177

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

The first visitor of Woleai was Torres, who went there in 1804 and who gave the name of Guliai and Ulea; Chamisso in 1817 gives Ulea, Lütke in 1828 Ouleyai, the Kolonialatlas of 1908 Oleai, Uleai and Woleai, and the report of the Hamburg Südsee Expedition in 1909 the atoll of Oleai and the island of Volea.

4: Krämer--254 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 177, 342 Woleai

In our day the houses on Oleai did not have any stone foundations and the same was true of the buildings on Lámotrek.

4: Krämer--285 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 538, 177 Woleai

The repertoire of stories was meager and it seems that the tradition and relation are not furthered very much.

A certain substitute is the long story of Paluélap which was mentioned in connection with Pollap.

I heard it on Lámotrek and recorded it there and that fact ought to serve as some indication that it came from a region further east, from Bon'nap [VMM: see 4: Krämer 291]

5: Kittlitz--149 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 484, 177 Elato

Several inhabitants of Namurrek, the farthest east of the three neighboring groups, took advantage of our ship to sail with us to the most western one, Elato; a tamol happened to be there with his sailing canoe so he took them to shore.

5: Kittlitz--149-50 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 177, 438 Elato

Elato is more closely connected with Guaham than the other Caroline Islands; the Spanish ships which come from there generally stop at the harbor when they visit the Carolines to get holothurians, especially trepangs, which are used for their commerce with China. Then you usually find some of the Elato natives on Guaham; [150] they frequently spend years there and enter their canoes into the government service. They keep up a kind of regular communication between Guaham and the other islands of the Marianas and transport the local products to the main island. During our stay we got acquainted with a tamol from Elato, whose name was Orolitau; he and a considerable number of his countrymen took charge of this Spanish trade between Guaham and the neighboring islands, Seypan and Rota. They gave Captain Lütke a lot of valuable information about the situation of the various coral islands near Elato.

5: Kittlitz--151
116, 177

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Faraulep

Among our callers was a tamol, who spoke Spanish fluently, and who had charming manners. His name was Alberto, but he had probably adopted this during his two year sojourn on the Marianas.

5: Kittlitz--155
116, 152, 177, 609

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Woleai

In spite of the abundant supply of the coconut palms, the natives charged high prices for the fruit, which the inhabitants of Lugunor had given us in great quantity. It is true that this food must be highly prized in a land where there is no fresh water, and then too, the denser the population is, the more reluctant the natives are to part with the fruit, which they need themselves. But we missed many other tokens of the cordial hospitality of the Lugunor inhabitants. Although the essential characteristics were the same for both peoples, these natives had developed a much more selfish attitude because of their frequent association with strangers.

No matter how unimportant the transaction, the native in question never fails to ask mita gatschau (What will you pay?). The term gatschau, to pay, might be called the leitmotif of the Oleaï natives in their dealings with white people. Whoever pays well is a good man, and he who does not is bad. This is true of the natives of all ages.

A small birl, barely three years old, once saw a picture of a woman in one of my magazines. She asked me if it were my wife, and when I laughed and said that it was, she immediately asked, "mita gatschau?".

While the people of Jap often refuse payment, even for a large amount of work, with the words "pelnou olag (It is only an act of friendship)", and never demand payment outright with very few exceptions; the natives of Oleaï immediately counter a request with the question, "Do you have enough tobacco to pay for this?". If one wants to rent a canoe, it must be paid for; then payment is demanded for each of the natives who goes along, whether his presence is necessary or not, and finally every time a magical formula is used for a possible squall, far removed from the course, it must also be paid for.

I believe that this unpleasant trait in the character of the natives is a result of the poor example which white people so far have set to the natives. For the most part, they have come into contact only with traders and sailors, who in a sense were dependent on the natives and always demanded something from them. The natives themselves were always the givers, not the receivers. Added to this is the fact that there were many

drinkers, rough men, and other undesirable elements among the Europeans, which naturally did not increase the respect of the natives for white people.

6: Senfft--54
116, 304, 177

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

Men and women have different patterns of tattooing. The same method of tattooing is used here as on other islands; only adults are tattooed, and a small hammer together with some soot are the instruments used. In most cases only the arms and legs are tattooed. Those natives who have had the upper part of their body tattooed use the same designs found on Yap and Ululsi (Ugoi) and they go to one of these islands for this process.

12: Lutke--129-130
116, 177, 609, 622

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Elato

To our great surprise we were not met here, as in the other places; we only saw one canoe on the water and it did not appear particularly anxious to communicate with us. When we hove to the natives tacked around us at a respectful distance and without paying attention to our signals of invitation; my passengers [AN: natives of Lamotrek], were too pleased with their gifts and their biscuits to bother much about the canoe. I was afraid that they might cause us delay and so I told them that I was going to start immediately for Ouleaf and that they would have to come with me if the canoe did not take them. This announcement produced an effect; they began to gesticulate, and finally the canoe drew along side. It held the tamol of the group, a big fat man, who knew a few words of Spanish; [130] I hastened to give him some presents, so that he would not tarry long; for I was anxious to complete my survey of these groups before nightfall. Finally, after making a few difficulties, he took the whole group, but they had a hard time to find places in the canoe.

12: Lutke--130-131
116, 177, 609

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Faraulep

The natives came to us at once. One of them who had nothing in his appearance to distinguish him from the rest, surprised us by his European manners, and we were even more astonished when he came on board and began to speak a very pure Spanish. He was the chief Alaberto*, he had spent two years in the Marianas islands where he had learned Spanish so perfectly that if [131] we could not carry on a fluent conversation with him, it was our fault, and not his. His polite and charming manners made him a very interesting guest.

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* This name does not resemble a Carolinian name in the slightest; it may be that he received it in Guahan.

12: Lutke--131 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 177 Faraulep

Alaberto [AN: chief] had dinner with me in the cabin; he had no difficulty in eating in our manner. . .

12: Lutke--132 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 177, 431 Faraulep

I gave him [AN: chief Alaberto] everything that I thought he could use; among other items a cask to conserve water, and a pocket compass; he understood the use of this in a second, and he held it in his hands as if it were really a treasure.

12: Lutke--135-136
116, 177, 574

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

While we were lying still there were fully seventy canoes gathered around us; I gave orders that for some time no one should be allowed to come on board because these inlanders interfered greatly with our work. Finally one of them pointed to himself and began to cry pilote [136]. Although I frankly did not expect to get much assistance from this man in that capacity yet I thought that he doubtless knew a little Spanish and that he might be useful in that way. I therefore invited him to come on board; but it then developed that, except for the word pilote, he did not know any Spanish at all. In a little while he showed us a man in shirt sleeves, who was holding a package in his hand, and he said that this man was also a pilot. We asked him to come up. He gave us two amusing letters, which were carefully wrapped up in an old English newspaper. One was addressed to the previous governor of the Marianas Islands, the other to Mr. Torrès, and they were written by the captains of some whalers which had called here during the previous year. In one of these letters, the bearer, who was called Tapeligar, was given the title of "second governor." As Tapeligar had received these letters which were supposed to be sent to Guahan, he kept them as a sort of recommendation. We got the explanation of the word pilote when we discovered that Pilote, Capitan and Tamol are all synonyms here; so the people who we thought were pilots were really only chiefs.

12: Lutke--138-139 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 152, 177 Woleai

Far from hindering, the natives tried to help us. The only thing to which they [AN: the natives] objected was the firing of our hunters. At the beginning [139] they trembled and screamed at each shot, even in the distance, and begged us not to make so much noise; they soon became accustomed to it, however; and they finally cried ouai! each time they heard a gun.

12: Lutke--300
116, 276, 177

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

Several of them asked for cigars, something that we had not noticed here before.

12: Lutke--301 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 177 Woleai

Without being in favor of obscurantism, I can say that in general the more contact the savages have with civilized people, the more corrupted they become. These relations make them acquainted with luxury; then new needs, and the desire to satisfy them bring more vices. In this sense the natives of Ouleaï will soon attain the same degree of civilization as their compatriots of the Pelly islands (Palaos) * unless they are preserved from it by their small population.

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* How far they are, the natives of these islands, from the simplicity and purity of customs in which Captain Wilson found them! Doctor Chamisso speaks of this change. Today they plunder and steal boats, just like the natives of New Zealand and the Marquise islands, and the only difference is that these men do not eat their prisoners.

28: Spiro--2-3 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-3
116, 177 Ifalik

"Ifaluk was discovered by the Englishman, John Wilson, in 1797, and was visited by the Russian scientist, Lutke, in 1828.

The contacts of the natives with the early Spanish and Portuguese explorers were very slight. Discouraged by early abortive attempts to establish missions in Sonsorol and Ulithi, the Spanish withdrew from all activity in the Western Carolines until the end of the nineteenth century. The British raised a flag on the Palaus in 1790, but did not pursue their interest any further.

The Western Carolines were first brought to the attention of the United States by the published reports of an American crew that was shipwrecked on the Palaus in 1832.

After 1840, western traders became interested in the Western Carolines. The natives at first welcomed them with cordial hospitality, despite some sporadic attacks. The westerners introduced livestock, firarms, small-pox, and syphillis into the area.

With the development of trade in the middle of the nineteenth century, Spain, Great Britain, and Germany came into conflict over the sovereignty of the islands. The Spanish rule lasted from 1886 to 1899. Except for some missionary work, Spanish activity in the islands was slight. They established missons [sic] on Yap and Palau, and built military fortifications on Yap, but did not interfere with native life. [3]

At the close of the Spanish-American War, in 1899, Germany bought the Marianas

(except for Guam) and the Carolines from Spain. The Germans began their administration auspiciously. They established administrative headquarters for the Western Carolines on Yap, where they built a new administration building; constructed a hospital, with a resident physician, who trained native assistants, and made tours of the other islands; and established a police force composed of trained natives. The district officers visited the outlying islands and explained to the chiefs that Germany has assumed hegemony over the islands. But aside from depriving the chiefs of the power of inflicting the death penalty, they made little, if any, attempt to interfere with native culture. Only in the promotion of trade did the Germans use dictorial methods. They required an increase in coconut planting, and greater care in the maintenance of the groves. But on the while [sic], 'the German administration was moderate, enlightened, and efficient.' (4)

"4. Civil Affairs Handbook, p. 25"

28: Spiro--2-3 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-3
116, 177 Ifalik

In October, 1914, Japan acquired hegemony over the Carolines, when a Japanese naval squadron took possession of the islands. They were later ceded the islands as a mandate territory by the League of Nations. The primary aims of Japanese imperialism in the islands were political and military. Native rulers were deprived of much of their power, but, again, no concerted attempt was made to change native culture to any appreciable degree. However, the Japanese did establish schools on Yap, to which young boys from the outlying islands, including Ifaluk, were brought for instruction. Here they were taught to read, write, and speak Japanese; arithmetic, drawing, Japanese history, athletics, and political indoctrination. The Japanese also inducted young men from the outlying islands to mine phosphate on the Palaus and on Fais."

28: Spiro--3 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 177 Ifalik

"Despite this long period of contact with the west (and the east) the Western Carolines show little acculturation. This is particularly true of the smaller islands, such as Ifaluk, for the obvious reason that contact was very slight. Trade never became extensive, and what there was was confined pretty well to the larger islands. Missionary activity was restricted to the larger islands, with no attempt to enter the smaller ones. Nor did the islands attract colonists, except for Yap and the Palaus.

Ifaluk, being one of the smaller islands, is, therefore, relatively unacculturated. However, there are some indications of acculturations, particularly in material culture. Although most of the clothes worn by the natives is woven by the women on their looms, many loin cloths are made of cloth introduced by the Japanese. Furthermore, almost every household has some articles of western apparel, such as military coats, jackets, and pants, some shoes or sandals, and many rain coats are in evidence. In preparation of food, almost all the utensils in use are of foreign origin. The wooden bowls, formerly used, have almost completely disappeared. Iron pots and hettles [sic], and tin pans have taken their place. Coconut graters, made of shell, have all been replaced by iron graters. Rain water is collected in rain barrels; the palm wine is collected and kept

in Japanese beer bottles. Fire is made with flint and steel, rather than by means of the aboriginal fire plow. (5)"

"5. Note: As so often happens, a practical art when if [sic] falls into disuse, becomes a toy, game, or sport. Boys and young men attempt to light a fire by means of the fire plow in the same spirit that characterizes the attempt of boy scouts to do the same."

28: Spiro--4
116, 177, 412

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In technology, this erstwhile neolithic culture has lost all its stone implements. Steel knives, steel adzes, saws, and planes have replaced the native tools."

28: Spiro--4 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 177, 262 Ifalik

"Food supply has also been effected by contact. Chickens and pigs, both in the smallest of quantities, have been introduced into the islands, as well as dogs. The latter are eaten under certain conditions. But more important than what has been introduced are those food products that the natives have tasted, and which have not been introduced, such as rice, milk, and beef, or 'carabou', as the natives call it. These, they tasted while on the larger islands, or when brought in occasionally by the Japanese, and they are very eager to obtain them again. The mothers, particularly, would like canned milk for their babies. One old man said that if he went to American he would do nothing but eat 'carabou'."

28: Spiro--4 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 177, 276 Ifalik

"One of the earliest of borrowed traits was tobacco, which the Spanish introduced into Guam, and which thereafter spread throughout the entire area. Ifaluk grows some tobacco, but not nearly enough for its needs, and, consequently, obtains its tobacco by trade with some of the other islands in the area, such as Faraulep and Lamotrek. The tobacco is smoked as a cigarette, being rolled in banana leaves."

28: Spiro--4 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 177, 771, 757 Ifalik

"In other aspects of culture little acculturation is to be found. Native religion and medicine is intact, despite the introduction of western medicine by the Japanese. The Navy has continued the Japanese policy of holding sick call on its field trips, and of leaving medical supplies with the chiefs. The only item the natives use, however, is cotton, which is used for a head decoration in their dances.

In religion, proper, I found on evidence of borrowing, of whose source, my informant was completely unaware. Arogeligar, the medicine-man, told me what was ostensibly a native creation myth, but which was, unquestionably, the Genesis story. When I asked where he had learned the myth he insisted that his paternal grandmother had taught it to him. Its origin, undoubtedly, is to be traced to missionary influence. Arogeligar, incidentally, was the only person who knew this story. The chiefs, who are the repositors of the folklore, were ignorant of it."

28: Spiro--7-8 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 177, 231 Ifalik

"The other animals on Ifaluk were introduced by the Japanese. These are the pigs, dogs, and chickens. The pigs are few, and their flesh--they are invariably roasted--is considered a rare delicacy. The hogs are tethered to trees, though the small pigs are allowed to roam in the courtyard, and are looked upon as pets, being freely handled and fondled by the natives, to the point of being suckled at times by the women.

The chickens, too, are scarce, though not as scarce as the hogs. Chickens are allowed to run free, and consequently are not entirely domesticated. It is quite an amusing sight to watch a chicken 'hunt'. A gang of boys will chase a chicken for a considerable length of time with sticks and stones until they finally catch one. Indeed to watch them stalking a chicken, one would think [8] that they were hunting big game. Because of their scarcity chickens are eaten infrequently, though many natives are not particularly fond of them. Eggs are eaten when they are found, and since the natives do not know the chickens' roosting places, they are not found as often as would be desired."

28: Spiro--9-10 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 631, 651, 177 Ifalik

"This recognition of the superiority of Gagil is more than a conceptual scheme; it entails material obligations on the part of the subservient islands. At periodical intervals the various islands bring a tribute to Gagil, called Autinzauwei or autineiwun, though the intervals are not fixed because of the native lack of conceptual temporal categories. Nevertheless, it is probably not too far from wrong to state that at three to four year intervals, Ifaluk pays a sizeable tribute to Gigil. The five chiefs select one of their members to deliver the tribute, and accompanied by an entourage, he makes the trip to Yap, about 400 miles away. The tribute is not fixed, but usually consists of women's skirts [10] (lavalavas), rope, and canoes, which the chiefs levy from the people. In terms of the native economy this tribute is of no negligible value, for, as we shall see, canoes, skirts, and rope, are the only articles the people manufacture, and the time consumed in their manufacture elevates them to objects of real value, of great wealth. A tribute

of a few small canoes, and one ocean-going canoe constitutes a real drain on the island's capital. Nevertheless, this tribute is offered voluntarily, without coersion, or military pressure on the part of the Gagil chiefs. (11)"

"11. It is of interest to the student of acculturation that the Yap chiefs accompany the navy station ship on its periodical tours of the islands, and collect their tribute during these trips, transporting them on the navy ships. Nonetheless, the local chiefs continue to travel to Yap, since the trip is a kind of pilgrimage, in a quasi-religious sense, and is an occasion for social intercourse, as well."

"Persons visiting other islands will stay at the homes of close relatives, or of clan members, where they will sleep and eat. They may stay as long as they like, though all but one of the visitors to Ifaluk during our stay remained no more than a week, their departure being determined by favorable winds and currents. [14] One boy from Woleae whose sister was married to a native of Ifaluk remained for six months. Since the islands fall into groups, a canoe will usually visit a number of islands on one voyage. A departing canoe will receive a send-off by a number of people, who fill it with coconuts and food for its journey.

The upshot of this discussion, and the point I wish to stress, is the high degree of cooperation and mutual aid obtaining between the islands. The people are deeply interested in the other islands and express genuine concern about their wellbeing. This is best illustrated by the aid Ifaluk extended to Woleae during World War II. The Japanese established a navy base on Woleae, which is approximately 30 miles from Ifaluk, preempted the food supply, and left the natives to their own ingenuity. When Ifaluk learned of their desperate condition, the Ifaluk chiefs extended the hospitality of their islands to the entire population of Woleae, about 400 strong, and despatched Ifaluk canoes to transport the Woleaneans. The lived on Ifaluk for the duration of the war, without payment of any kind. When asked to comment on this generosity, Ifalukins remark that the Woleanens

are 'all same brothers this place', and this was just a brotherly gesture, not any unusual display of generosity or sacrifice."

28: Spiro--20
576, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"To stand in the presence of another is an insult, this being one of the first things an Ifaluk child is taught. Not even the chiefs will stand in the presence of the people, even when addressing them. The American Military Government officers respected this folkway, as did the anthropologists, which contrasted very favorably, in the eyes of the natives, with the Japanese practice of talking to the natives while standing on a table."

28: Spiro--21
827, 514, 177, 636

(1947-48)1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The chiefs informed the people that they were to follow implicitly the recommendations made by the Military Government officers and the Navy doctors, about clearing the rubbish around their houses, and building over-water heads (1)."

"1. This is an example of navy unwarranted generalization. On Yap the natives defecate on the ground, with the result that Yap is plagued with diseases of all kinds. The Navy has encouraged the natives to build over-water heads to preclude the polluting of the ground, and thus preventing disease. When they arrived on Ifaluk, they assumed that the Ifaluk pattern was similar to Yap's, and suggested to the chiefs that over-water heads be erected. This suggestion, however, was entirely unnecessary since the Ifaluk natives almost invariably use the lagoon for their ablutions, abhoring the sight and smell of faeces."

28: Spiro--44 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 177, 421 Ifalik

"Economic acculturation, in that it provides certain individuals and not others with certain objects, has resulted in a desire for certain kinds of property, and confers upon their owners certain prestige. This merely illustrates the universal economic law of scarcity as a primary contributor to economic value. Western gadgets, and tools, introduced by the Japanese or by the Americans, including the anthropologists--and of necessity distributed to a few--incur the admiration and envy of the others. The knives we distributed among the chiefs were the envy and admiration of all the men. The playing cards we gave to our 'boys' were admired and longed for by the others. The perfume we gave to Tom's wife or to the chiefs' wives was desired by the other women. Thus one can safely predict that as long as real property remains in the lineages, and as long as other property can be acquired by any one with the requisite skills that property and wealth will create no psychological or social tensions. But if native system of land tenure should be changed so as to enable some to accumulate more at the expense of others, or if the Navy should offer jobs to some of the men and not to others, and thus enable them to buy western manufactured objects--particularly objects, like flashlights, that can be used only by one person at a time, tensions will inevitably arise as they have in other colonial areas.

There are two factors, then, that have served to almost eliminate economic tensions on Ifaluk: The culturally ordained pattern of cooperation and generosity in the distribution of goods and their use, and the abundance of those things that are desired, so

that all can share in them. A change in either the cultural or natural resources, indigenously or through contact, would soon alter this."

28: Spiro--46 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 821, 177, 804 Ifalik

"The sky, is a physical object, in the shape of a dome, which meets the oceans at its extremities. The surface of the earth--land and ocean--is flat, and is bounded by the sky at its limits.

Though the world is bounded and the sky is a material, impermeable object, no native has reached these points. The chiefs asked me whether any American had ever reached north or south. That is, these terms do not serve merely as directional indicators, as they do for us, but they are actual physical places, which one reaches if one travels far enough. They also wished to know if any American airplane had ever flown to the sky. The Japanese had told them that they (the Japanese) had done so."

28: Spiro--62
177, 412

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The natives all have steel knives, and never use wooden knives, nor had I ever seen a wooden knife previously. This is an interesting point for the student of acculturation with respect to differentials in the degree of acceptance and resistance of foreign objects. Despite the greater physical efficiency of the steel knife, the wooden one is used for this ceremony, and the small shell, rather than a steel knife, is still used to sever the baby's umbilicus. In other words, those areas of culture which are imbued with mysterious connotations, in which the element of danger and unpredictability are strong, are most resistant to acculturation. Whether this is a valid generalization for other cultures, I don't know, but there is no question of its applicability to Ifaluk."

28: Spiro--64-65
116, 755, 771, 787, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"This association of religion and medicine is found not only in the healing of individuals but also in the group or public ceremonies and rituals. The public ceremonies are all medicine ceremonies, in which medicine is made and consumed immediately as a prophylactic against future illness, and in which the alusemar are invoked to protect the people from illness. Though other Alus are involved, it is Tilitr that plays the important role in these ceremonies. Tilitr is difficult to conceptualize in terms of our two categories of alusemar, for he is really intermediate in rank between them, being neither in the pantheon, nor having ever been mortal. He lives in Fatuma, with the royal family of alus, but descends to Ifaluk frequently, particularly at the public ceremonies when he is invoked, and then returns to Aluelap to report to him. Tilitr, as has already

been indicated, is the patron saint of Ifaluk, protecting them from evil and from illness. (27)" [65]

"27. Tilitr predicted an American victory in the war. The natives, of course, knew of the war because of the airplanes which flew over-head, because the Japanese had told them of the war, and because Ifaluk young men had been on Yap during the American bombardment of the island. During the war Tilitr had told Arogeligar that the Americans would win, and that he (Tilitr) would assist them. He also had told him that the Americans were a fine people, that they had 'very fine head, very fine stomach,' and that the Ifaluk head and stomach were small, by comparison."

28: Spiro--75 [2]
116, 787, 821, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"We have already described in detail the rituals employed in healing. But divination is also used in healing, as well as in predicting the weather. Divination, called trip or bweng, is practiced by means of coconut strips, the configuration of the knots being interpreted as a predictive mechanism. (31)"

"31. [See following sheet for footnote 31.]"

"31. [Footnote pp. 75-76] One afternoon I saw Maroliger divining for a sick woman. I asked Tom what he was doing, and he replied that this was 'Katt', that is, he was playing cards. I didn't press the issue any further, assuming that Tom was reluctant to speak about the matter, and making a note to ask him about it at a later time. It was entirely accidental that I later learned what he had meant. In the latter part of November we had a few days of heavy wind, that the natives called a minor typhoon. Trees were blown down, the waves were coming on shore. Since there was little I could do, I spent a part of one afternoon playing 'solitaire.' While playing, Tom came to see how we were weathering the storm, and found me playing cards. Now previously Maroligar had seen Dr. Burrows playing, and after each hand Dr. Burrows would say, 'Good', or 'bad' [76] depending upon whether or not he had won, and Maroligar had interpreted this evaluation to mean that Dr. Burrows was divining for something. When Tom came that day, he told me that the people were very disturbed about the storm, and that he too was worried, and would be unable to sleep that night. But he insisted that I finish my game so that I could tell him whether the storm would continue or would abate. Wishing to put his mind at rest, I told him that the storm would stop. He sighed with relief, and was most happy, because Maroligar's divining by means of the coconut strips had predicted the same thing."

28: Spiro--105-106 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 524, 177 Ifalik

"The number of games the children play is quite limited. Boys play a game, called kat, which is similar to checkers, and which was unquestionably brought from the Japanese on Yap by the young men who had worked there. The game is played by both boys and men, often a boy playing a man. A board is ruled into horizontal and vertical lines, about nine vertical and twelve horizontal. Each player has twelve pieces of coral or coconut midribs, with which he tries to 'capture' those of his opponent, by 'jumping'. One may jump in either direction, and the 'king' may traverse as great a distance as he wants. The winner, of course, is the one who captures all of his opponent's pieces. This game, it should be noted, is the only game in which there is a 'winner', and it is not native. The boys and young men play it with avidity, [106] often with great enthousiasm. This is true, also, of the card games that the young and old men, but not children play. Adults have no competitive games or sports either. The Japanese had taught them some card games, but they had no cards. We gave them a deck, and they played the game with great relish, often spending hours at a time at it. What is significant, of course, is that the culture provides no competitive games, in which one child is victorious over another."

28: Spiro--107-108
116, 857, 524, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The children would play other games at various times. They would attempt to climb a tree or a stump, but if seen by adults, they would be stopped. They would [108] jump into the air, trying to touch their feet before they landed on the ground. They also had a game of tag, in which they would chase each other endlessly around an imaginary circle, screaming with pleasure until they would fall exhausted to the ground.

Another game was to stand facing each other, with the palms of their hands pushing against the palms of another, and then attempt to push the other from his spot. Singing and dancing were favorite pastimes, performed individually and in groups. We shall have more to say about the dancing in another connection. Their songs and dances were imitations of the adult songs and dances, there being none which are specifically for children. The children love to sing and were eager to learn the songs that I sung. Their favorite American song was 'Patsie Orie Arie Aye' which they (and the adults, too) asked me to sing whenever they saw me. Eventually they learned the tune and the chorus, so that they would sing it by themselves.

Both boys and girls would often play in the canoes, just climbing around them, or attempt to paddle them when they were in the water."

28: Spiro--128 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 831, 533, 177 Ifalik

"The young men were eager to learn of sexual practices in America, as were the adult informants. Women, when alone, are constantly singing bwarux. When the men make the statuettes which they sell to the ships, there is usually some kidding about the length of the penis. In one case Taualimen was carving a man with a long penis, and was about it every day. Otilivok one day, while this kidding was going on, went to a corner, and carved very diligently for a long time, finally coming back with a carved vagina, which he gave to Taualimen."

28: Spiro--128 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 291, 831, 827, 177 Ifalik

"Though the people are neither modest in dress nor in sexual practice, in terms of western standards, that is, they are actually quite puritanical. Any sexual reference or term, either anatomical or physiological, is completely taboo in mixed company.

As we have seen, a man does not even permit another man to see his genitals. And anyone would be horrified if a member of the opposite sex had seen him nude. (9)"

"9. The Japanese shocked the sensibilities of the Ifaluk by bathing in the nude. Women would run away if they saw the Japanese bathing, as they were shocked by their boldness."

29: Spiro--190 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 177 Ifalik-1 3

"Tarev is a man in his early forties, an only child of parents who are dead. He had not only had a normal childhood, but his early adulthood, too, had been most exemplary. He had been both a good husband and a good father. He had been industrious in his work and cooperative and generous--highly esteemed values in Ifaluk--in his normal social interaction. Furthermore he had been acclaimed as an expert fisherman and was recognized as a skilled carpenter. In short, Tarev had enjoyed a position of respect and prestige in his society. The onset of his disease was not insidious, but was most precipitate. Shortly before the outbreak of war in the Pacific he had been inducted by the Japanese into a labor gang on Yap, and after his return the natives became aware of drastic changes in his behavior. He would not work but would spend many hours in isolation, engaging in private and seemingly meaningless conversations, songs, and dances. At other times, however, he would become violent, accusing people of wanting to kill him, and would resort to violent means of defending himself against these putative attackers. In short, his behavior exhibited the characteristics of the paranoid schizophrenic. These sporadic outbursts became so frequent that his wife and her family were afraid to live with him--residence in Ifaluk is matrilocal--and Tarev was moved to his maternal home where, it was thought, his own family would have greater control over him. This was

the situation when we arrived in Ifaluk in July 1947. (6)

Exactly what the experiences of the natives in the labor gangs were we do not know. One thing is fairly certain, however; the natives were not treated with great respect. On the contrary! Their treatment was often harsh and brutal. Some of the men informed me that the Japanese overseers did not hesitate to employ physical punishment, such as whipping, to enforce their demands. This characteristic of Japanese behavior left a deep impression on the natives, and they experienced it from the very beginning of their induction. The Japanese patrol would come to the island and demand a certain number of adult males from the chiefs. Their arrogant manner in dealing with the chiefs--speaking from raised platforms, shouting at them, and even beating them if they did not respond with alacrity--evoked both hatred and anxiety from the people. The men who were inducted were exposed to this treatment for the duration of their work-period. For people who had lived all their lives in a culture in which nonaggression was a

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"6. The writer and Dr. Burrows studied this culture from July 1947 to February 1948, under a grant from the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council, as members of the CIMA expedition (Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology). Funds were made available by the Navy Department."

29: Spiro--190
116, 159, 177

(1947-48) 1950

Woleaians
Ifalik-3

supreme value and in which the greatest emphasis is placed on 'good talk,' meaning kindliness in speech, the behavior of the Japanese constituted a profoundly disturbing experience. The natives know of no instance of this kind of malebush prior to the Japanese occupation; and since the occupation, the only cases of this type have been two men who had worked in the labor gangs--Tarev and one other. To the knowledge of the people no person who had not had this Japanese experience has ever become a victim of this disorder."

29: Spiro--195-196 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 177 Ifalik-17

"November 14, 1947. Maroligar woke me last night, very disturbed, saying that Tarev was 'tonight no good.' It seems that he had been doing some kind of private dance inside his house, and was disturbing others with the noise he was making. I proceeded with Maroligar to Tarev's house, pulled back the door mat, and saw that he was standing in the center of the house, his back to me, holding a large pole in his hand. When I called his name, he turned towards me, looked at me long, and then gave a sigh of relief--as if some heavy burden had been lifted from his shoulders. He ran towards me, as if he were a little boy, grabbed my hands in his, and smelled both palms deeply. He talked to me, but his speech was entirely unintelligible. I gave him a cigarette and told him to try to sleep. I waited outside his house for a half-hour and, satisfied that he was sleeping, returned to my tent. This morning, Maroligar informed me that after I had left last night, Tarev became aggressive and threw rocks at his 'mother.'

This morning I went to interview him. He looked very depressed and did not greet me with his usual warmth. Throughout the interview, he would put his face in his hands, as if he were trying to forget something. As the interview continued, he warmed up to the situation, but not with the same warmth and intensity that characterized the other interviews.

Q. Why did you dance last night?
A. I did nothing. I only held the pole.

Q. What did you do with the pole?
A. I took it for that white man.
Q. But why did you dance?
A. It was for the white man. He has something in his clothes.
Q. What does he have in his clothes?
A. Just as in the movies. [He had seen movies on Yap.]
Q. What?
A. I saw it in the movies and was imitating it.
Q. What did you see?
A. I saw it in the movies. Yesterday afternoon I made that pole.
Q. Why did you throw a stone at your mother?
A. Metagiso [her husband] had a knife and struck the stone with it. [196]
Q. Why did he do that?
A. I didn't like it. I was angry and threw the stone at my mother.
Q. Why didn't you like it?
A. He hit one knife on top of another.
Q. But why did you throw the stone?
A. I was afraid.
Q. Why?

A. I remember yesterday afternoon I took coconuts to drink, and Metagiso and my mother said they would kill me tonight. [He laughs.] Metagiso went fishing and the fire in the house had gone out. I went to Maroligar's house to get a light for my cigarette. [At this point Tom interrupted him, and they engaged in a heated argument, which I lost completely.] Someone called me and I woke up.

Q. Who called you?

A. No one. Metagiso came in in the late afternoon. Then something like fire came down, circled my house a few times, and finally settled on the tree.

Q. What was it?

A. It wasn't fire. It settled on the tree, then came to the ground and circled around.

Q. But what was it?

A. [He took a blade of grass, and showed me a piece about a quarter of an inch long.] It came inside the house, and the fire became larger, and then it became smaller--larger and smaller. Metagiso caught it in his fish net. He put it by the side of my house.

Q. Were you afraid of it?

A. No.

Q. Did you like it?

A. [He did not answer, but placed his hands in a prayer-like pose, and bent his head.]

Q. Did you like it?

A. No. I said to it, 'Good morning, master.'

Q. Where is it now?

A. I lifted the door mat and it went away. [He then pointed to swarms of small flying insects that were visible only in the rays of the sun shining through the doorway.] They were just like them--many, many.

Q. Did you dream last night?

A. No.

Q. Why did you do that dance?

A. The Americans danced in those clothes.

Q. What clothes?

A. People walked in those clothes.

Q. What kind of clothes were they? Like my clothes?

A. They were soldier clothes [uniforms]. What the soldiers did, I did.

Q. What did you do?

A. There were many soldiers. What they did, I did.

Q. Were you afraid of the soldiers?

A. I fought with one of the soldiers. He knifed me in my stomach and my head. I removed the knife. He gave me much money, but I did not keep it. I threw it away.

Q. But I don't see any wounds on you.

A. The knife came through my head and back. I pulled it through, rubbed the wound, and it disappeared.

Q. Where did the soldiers go?

A. The knife came through my head and back, so I pulled it out, rubbed the place, and the wound disappeared. Then another one came to fight me.

Q. Why did the soldiers want to fight you?

A. Because I was very bad. I drank wine, and then I began to shout and break things. So they came to fight me.

Q. Why did you drink so much and break things?

A. Those men did not like it. Four men came to fight me. They threw me to the ground and I began to bleed. Then they began to fight with me. They gave me money.

Q. What kind of soldiers were they?

A. American soldiers. I did an American dance.

Q. How do you feel now?

A. I am always happy, for a dance comes to me, just like the wind.

Q. Do you like the dance?

A. I like.

Q. Has the alus come to you lately?

A. He is in me now. He never goes away.

Q. Where is he in you?
A. In my stomach.
Q. Is it a male or female alus?
A. Male. Last night I dance. Last night I danced, and there was a typhoon, and a tidal wave. I wanted my mother to see.
Q. Really?
A. I was at the land of the alus when it came.
Q. Where is that place?
A. The ocean came on top of me in huge waves.
Q. Where is the land of the alus?
A. I saw that paper, and I understood. A man came to me; he did not talk bad to me, he talked good. So I did not go to the land of the alus.
Q. Where is the land of the alus?
A. It is like the movies. An American man came to me. He said, 'Do you have any copras?' 'I have no more.' 'Why?' 'We need the coconuts to eat here.' 'Then I'll kill you.' 'No, don't kill me.' 'I'm going to kill all the people here.' 'No, don't kill them.' 'I'll kill you.' So he killed me.
Q. Are you dead now?
A. No, he killed me, but I was revived. Four American men gave me some whiskey. I drank one glass, and then threw away the bottle. I finished four bottles. The men gave

me money, but I told my children, 'You take the money.'

As usual, we were interrupted. A school of fish was sighted, and the men called Tom to join them in launching the canoes."

"Tarev's cruel treatment at the hands of the Japanese was the first hostile experience he had encountered in his adult life. This experience was not only intrinsically alarming and frustrating but--what is even more important--it served to remobilize childhood traumata, reviving the anxieties, frustrations, and insecurities that until then had found cultural resolution. The result was psychosis, for the situation became overwhelming. To the first meaning of the cruelty--physical hurt--he could make no response: first, because the Japanese were the masters of the situation; and, second, because as a member of Ifaluk culture he was forced to inhibit his own aggression. To the [204] second meaning of the cruelty--the remobilization of his childhood traumata--there was no possible realistic--that is, cultural--response at all; for his culture had not provided for such a contingency. Since he could no longer live by means of his culture--'in his culturally constituted world,' to use Hallowell's phrase--he could live only by means of his own phantasies--his privately constituted world.

This theoretical analysis is substantiated by the facts. (24) As I stated earlier, the

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"24. Similarly, J. C. Carothers has shown that the incidence of 'mental derangement' among African natives is correlated with their living away from their native homes. See 'A Study of Mental Derangement in Africans, and an Attempt to Explain its Peculiarities, More Especially in Relation to the African Attitude to Life,' Psychiatry (1948) 11:47-85."

natives know of no instance of this kind of malebush prior to the Japanese occupation; and since the occupation, the only cases of this type have been two men who had worked in the labor gangs--Tarev and one other. To the knowledge of the people no person who had not had this Japanese experience has ever become a victim of this disorder. That other men did not break down under this pressure does not invalidate this analysis, for the same objection could be raised with respect to any population. All individuals in a given culture or subculture are exposed to the same or similar strains; certain of these personalities break down and others do not. The attempts to understand this differential threshold of frustration-tolerance has led investigators to the study of those biogenic and psychogenic factors that may be operative. What those factors might be in the case of Tarev and Aneitin are unknown since their case histories are unavailable."

35: Choris (Iles Radak)--17 (1817) 1822 Woleaians
116, 159, 177 Woleai

Kadou [LEM: A native of Woleai (Carolines) who had been shipwrecked on Aur] was not slow in getting used to us, and conducted himself like a true European. Being a natural mimic, he amused us a great deal. In a very little time he learned several Russian words, and as we had retained a large number of words from the Radak Islands, we came to understand each other.

He spoke a great deal about Oulea, his home-land, as well as adjacent islands, which we knew by the name of the Caroline Island archipelago. Kadou had travelled to all of them, even to the Pelew Islands. His accounts told us that his compatriots were hardy navigators, and often undertook long sea voyages.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
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whether they died in infancy (before they could walk) or later. The ninety-two women of childbearing age or older had had 255 children, of which 151 were still living. Of the 104 deaths, sixty were either stillbirths or infant deaths, which is a high infant mortality by modern Western standards, though probably lower than that of most of the crowded Oriental civilizations.

The menstrual history of every woman was public knowledge on Ifaluk because of the custom of retiring to the menstrual huts. Tufal for a woman, then, has the definite meaning that she has passed menopause, has completed her reproductive history. We got the reproductive history of twenty-eight of these elderly ladies. They had born a total of eighty children, or an average of 2.8 each. Eight of them had had no children; one of them had had ten; most had had two, three or four.

The Ifalukians, like most people who lack a written language or system of records, had amazing memories, and I think that our histories for these women are reasonably accurate. It is difficult to interpret them precisely, of course, because of our lack of data on movement to and away from the island, and the like. Clearly, however, the population is hardly maintaining itself. The Ifalukians loved children, seemed always to want children. I could not, however, get away from a suspicion that the low birth rate reflected some sort of deliberate contraceptive or control practice, beyond such conventional taboos as the prohibition of sexual intercourse during periods of fishing. The language problem, the delicacy of the subject and our reluctance to appear to be prying into personal matters, prevented us from getting any definite information.

The population question in the Pacific is a matter of general concern. All of the islands—Polynesian, Micronesian, Melanesian—showed a great decline in population through the 19th century. The islands had probably been almost free of contagious disease before the explorers, traders, whalers and other Westerners started roaming the Pacific, bringing smallpox, measles, venereal diseases, tuberculosis and the like along with them.

The consequences were devastating, and only in recent years have introduced medicine and sanitation started to counteract the effect of the introduced diseases. Until quite recently, I suspect that most cul-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
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tural changes brought by the West—changes in clothing, in housing, in diet, in customs—have tended to increase the disease problem rather than to alleviate it. But that is a pet peeve of mine.

The population history of Ifaluk itself is not clear. Counts by anthropologists during the period of German control showed populations of 281 in 1903 and 208 in 1909, with an estimate of 300 for 1914. The drop between the first two counts may be a result of the typhoon of 1907—not only direct mortality, but also emigration to other islands as a consequence of food shortage.

The older Ifalukians thought that more people had lived on the island formerly; and from their stories I got to thinking that the population might at some time have reached as much as 500. This was based on accounts of times when even coconuts were carefully shared and nothing was wasted. Abandoned household sites in the village areas might be evidence of some population decline and there were stories of an epidemic, soon after the Japanese appeared, when as many as a dozen people died in a day. This, clearly, was smallpox; and the Japanese started vaccination, which has been maintained by the American authorities.

The island, in 1953, was not overpopulated. The land surface of the atoll was about a half a square mile, so the population of 260 people would represent a density of about 520 persons per square mile: a rather dense population, but we must remember that the people of Ifaluk had also the resources of their lagoon and of the surrounding seas. Ifaluk seemed to me to represent an economy of abundance, and this probably in part explains the idyllic living conditions that prevailed. With more people, with the same resources and the same cultural equipment, life might have been more difficult and unpleasant.

The Ifalukians certainly seemed not only happy, but healthy. It is difficult to make exact comparisons between the Ifalukians and other people because of our uncertainty about precise ages, so that one is likely to be averaging fifteen-year-olds with thirty-year-olds. In general, however, the men seemed to be somewhat smaller and lighter than the American average. The tallest man of the island, Sepemal, was a half inch under six feet. The heaviest (Wolpaitig, the number

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
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We picked up that word "boondock" in Guam, and very useful it proved to be. It became an important part of the Abbott-Bates vocabulary, and may well have also infected the Ifalukian speech. In Guam, it was used to refer to the wild tangle of miscellaneous vegetation that had taken over so much of the island after the disruption of the war.

The boondocks on Ifaluk were the parts of the atoll that were not clearly something else—that is, not coconut grove, not taro swamp, not household area. The boondocks were not exactly wild, because all sorts of useful things grew there, including planted coconuts and breadfruit trees. They were not exactly cultivated either. Such areas could thus hardly be called "jungle" or "scrub"; and "forest" seemed rather inappropriate. "Boondock" was just the word; though we could perhaps better have used the Ifalukian equivalent, niwel.

The boundary between the coconut grove and the boondocks was sharply defined: weeds and shrubs were kept cleared out of the coconuts only up to this definite line—the boondock line. This again roughly paralleled the lagoon shore, fifty or sixty yards in. We plotted it on our map, later, when the trail mapping seemed fairly well in hand.

The habitations, deep in the coconut grove and near the boondock line, were grouped into "households." The census showed that there were twenty-six such households on the atoll, eleven on the island of Falalap, and fifteen on Falarik. The Falarik households were not scattered evenly along the highway and lagoon, but formed two clusters or villages, one called Rauau, at the south end of the island—the Fan Nap was in the middle of this—and the other called "Falarik" (the address would probably be "Falarik, Falarik") with a gap of about a quarter of a mile along the broad highway between the two.

The whole system of land ownership of the island was built around these households, each of which had a name. Later in the summer we tried to map the holdings of one household, Falepenach. These holdings included not only the immediate vicinity of the living quarters, but also several patches of boondock and coconut grove on Falarik, and patches in the big taro swamp on Falalap. The patch arrangement seemed to provide that each household would "own" its share of each of the different kinds of land.

The households varied greatly in size, from one which included

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
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side of the trail there was an open grove of high breadfruit trees and other plantings of the Falivelu household.

This trail by Katelu we called the "schoolhouse trail"—because it led directly to the schoolhouse. The schoolhouse was a thatched shed built in a large clearing exactly half way across the island. It had been put up in accordance with instructions, either from the Navy or the Trust Territory, and contained a blackboard and a supply of essential equipment like boxing gloves and basket balls. But how would one go about introducing schooling on Ifaluk? Or should one? The answer to this latter, surely, is "yes" because willy-nilly the Ifalukians must learn to deal with the outer world in these days when that world has become a small neighborhood, and even Ifaluk cannot be protected by its remoteness. But the question of how to introduce this schooling is a complex one for which perhaps no one has a clear answer.

At any rate, the schoolhouse was not used for educational purposes during the period of our stay, but it did have uses. The clearing was a handy place to locate the rain gauge, and the schoolhouse itself, with its open sides, seemed a good place for the regular measurements of shade temperature and humidity. So the area became our meteorological station.

On this south end of Falarik the coconut grove of the lagoon shore extended right around the tip of the island to the ocean side, enveloping the schoolhouse yard. The trail was straight and formal, however, only as far as the school; beyond it became a winding footpath leading through the coconuts to the ocean beach.

Except for this southern end and the long stretch of lagoon shore, Falarik was covered with boondocks. Coconuts grew all through these boondocks, and the principal forest tree was breadfruit. But there were a dozen other kinds of trees, and a thick underbrush of bushes and ferns—ferns everywhere. There were many swampy areas in the center of the island, but the land became slightly higher toward the ocean shore, the surface rough with coral boulders, culminating in a definite "boulder ridge" paralleling the ocean beach.

The beach on the ocean side was narrow, sloping rather steeply from this boulder ridge. Along most of the length of the island the beach, too, was covered with coral rocks, but there were also stretches of coral

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
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Hawaiian sling spear, with the hand replacing the hollow bamboo grip.

Fish were not too plentiful and all were small. In a short time Bakal got four small surgeon fish of two species and a small bright-colored reef fish. None were over five inches long—which showed that small fish were not scorned as food.

Don had taken his Arbalete spear gun—a complicated and lethal weapon that had as yet hardly been tried. Yani borrowed it, and Don was greatly cheered to see him miss a couple of shots—Don had been feeling sheepish about his own misses. Presently there were loud shouts from Bakal and Yani. Yani, for fun, had shot a big moray eel with the Arbalete gun. (For fun because the Ifalukians do not eat moray eels. Ted explained this as a sort of pact: the Ifalukians did not eat morays or sharks, with the idea that the morays and sharks would reciprocate. The pact was occasionally violated by both the morays and the sharks.)

The spear was deep in the neck of the big eel, but the eel was still lively enough so that we did not dare try to bring it into the boat, and it was impossible to get it off the spear. So we rowed all the way home towing the speared moray behind the boat. After dragging the eel up on the beach, we managed to get the spear out. Don, Bakal and Yani then started out again, swimming, to try for more fish among the coral heads of the lagoon in front of the Fan Nap.

Don got a fine chance at a blue crevelley about a foot long, and hit him right through the middle. Just then, Yani swam up and pointed to a big moray eel completely out of the rocks and swimming rather feebly along the sandy bottom twelve feet below. The eel was partly on its side and seemed to be looking up at them. The thought flashed through Don's mind that some fool had thrown the speared moray back into the lagoon, and there it was, out for revenge.

They had just started to get themselves out of there when a big shark shot by—a huge, grey torpedo. It made a swift circle around Don, Yani and the eel. Yani shouted and thrashed the water with his hands and feet, at the same time making for the nearest coral head, yelling for Don to come. Don was close behind, still with the speared fish. They clambered onto the platform of coral, where they were standing in water about halfway up their thighs, Don holding

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
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the flies, and during the evening, to get away from the mosquitoes. Ted stuck to the Fan Nap for writing up his notes—but carefully protected with long trousers tied around the ankles, and with coils of Japanese "punk" burning to exorcise the mosquitoes. He had great faith in that burning punk.

We decided to start the plant collecting that afternoon, since the drying cabinet was ready. It was quite an expedition—Yani, Tony, Bakal, Don and me. The idea was to try to collect not only the plants, but information about them. Tony, as a Ulithi man, didn't know the local plant lore, but he was a good interpreter. Yani's English was rapidly gaining in fluency, however, and he and Don, particularly, were able to understand one another almost from the beginning without outside help. Yani did know the local plants—their names and their uses—and Don would jot down this information while I fussed with the plant press itself. Bakal, as usual, was general handy man.

The clean-up was continued next morning and pretty well finished by noon, when everyone on Falarik gathered on the lawn outside the Fan Nap for a communal meal. "Feast" is probably too strong a word for the meals that invariably followed any community activity. The food was lavish enough, contributed by all of the participating households, but it did not differ markedly from the everyday diet.

In this instance, Ted decided that the occasion was important enough for him to contribute one of the cases of corned beef that he had brought along for just such purposes. The canned beef was a greatly appreciated delicacy, called "carawao," which would seem to stem from the Spanish word for water-buffalo, carabao. Several Ifalukian words reflected Spain's dominance in the Carolines in the 19th century—the word "cat" for instance, which hardly differed from the Spanish gato.

The opened case of beef was put before Maroligar, the number two chief, but the distribution of the cans was carried out by Toroman, the number three chief, who always seemed to take over when there was anything to be divided among the island households. He called out the names of the households, tossing the cans to representatives of each; some cans were set aside for Falalap (which was having its own clean-up), and there was a small, separate pile for the chiefs.

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123 my necklace every third day, when it came my turn. Presently they were given necklaces, too, and then we could all be properly ornamented all the time!

123 177 Don kept on with the regular English lessons. He wrote a journal entry about one evening when Yani had brought a simple English reader from the school supplies and wanted to know the meanings of some of the words—believe, would, parade, party (that was easy), Halloween, conversation, as, think, exactly. Don felt he did nicely—all his teaching instincts came to the fore. He consulted me once or twice, but this obviously would lead only to an argument that would leave the English lesson suspended indefinitely—"exactly" was perfect for an Abbott-Bates argument. Its meaning could hardly be touched on without previous exploration of the nature of reality and the perceptions of the observer, and once this was started, "exactly" could never be reached again. So Yani got only the Abbott interpretations of meaning.

181 There seemed to be little trouble about the explanations, and this set Don to thinking about the nature of "savages." According to Ted, these people of Ifaluk had had the least contact with the West of any of the Pacific islanders—only the people of central New Guinea being comparable. Thus, by common Western standards, they would be classed as "savages"—in fact, as "naked savages." Yet, Don argued, these are really highly sophisticated people, so startlingly like Westerners that it was sometimes hard to remember that there were any differences at all. He was particularly impressed by their sense of humor, which [522] seemed to differ not at all from his own. They laughed at his jokes when they understood them, as he did at theirs. Humor that didn't cross the cultural barrier seemed to be associated either with the double meanings of language, or with cultural traits that were not shared. Don wrote these impressions in his journal—from which I am cribbing.

535 After the English session, we all went to watch dancing on Falalap. 533 We took the BWUP and rowed over in the dark, settling down under the palms near a fire of dry coconut leaves. The women were sitting in a line, making slow movements of arms, torso and head to the pace of a slow, low-pitched song that mostly hung on one note, but oc-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
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Polynesian and Micronesian—had to carry the precious young plants with them on their long canoe voyages to new islands.

The famous expedition of Captain Bligh with the BOUNTY had the purpose of bringing young breadfruit trees from Tahiti for establishment in the West Indies, where the planters thought it would be an ideal food for their African slaves. This first attempt at importing the tree was frustrated by the mutiny, but plants were successfully brought in on a subsequent voyage. Breadfruit, however, never became a staple in the West Indies. People do not adopt new foods easily (not even slaves), and where new staple foods have been adopted—as in the case of the potato in Ireland—it is generally because of overwhelming advantages. Breadfruit seems not to have demonstrated such advantages to any non-Pacific culture.

We went out one morning with Tom and a young man of his household to gather breadfruit. The man who was going to pick the fruit carried a large coil of rope and a long pole which had a short crosspiece firmly tied near one end. We followed him through a complex maze of boondock paths to a large breadfruit tree. He threw the coil of rope over the lowest branch (about twenty feet up) and pulled it out with his pole, so that the rope was hanging double from the branch.

With the aid of the rope he climbed easily up the trunk to this first branch, whence he could scramble to any part of the top of the tree. We watched him walk upright along one horizontal branch about thirty feet above the ground, using his long pole as a sort of balance after the fashion of acrobats. With the pole he was able to break off fruit easily in any part of the tree, allowing the fruit to fall to the ground. The bruising apparently did not matter, though the fruit to be used for food must be gathered before it is completely ripe, while the pulp is still white and mealy.

The fresh fruit is either baked or boiled, with many minor variations in ways of cooking. I didn't think much of it, no matter how cooked. It seemed no better or no worse than potatoes, palatable enough with meat gravy—but the Ifalukians didn't have meat gravy.

Breadfruit is the only food on Ifaluk that can be stored for any

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corpse is wrapped in seemingly endless coils of rope, weighted with stones, and taken out to sea for burial. The canoe used for this then cannot be touched for four days, four being in general the magic number on Ifaluk.

The alus, the spirits of the dead, are sometimes benevolent and sometimes malevolent, apparently depending on the character of the person from whom they came. The malevolent spirits cause all sorts of trouble, including most kinds of illness. Mel Spiro, in his psychological studies of the Ifalukians, found fear of alus to be dominating both consciously and subconsciously. We had no encounters with alus, but we didn't seek any, and the attitude toward alus of the young men who worked with us seemed to be largely ritual, but we did not try to probe into their psychology.

In theory the dances, then, were designed to please the alus, both the high gods and the ordinary spirits. The elaborate ur dances which required these endless nightly rehearsals, were surely for the high gods; but all of the alus, like all of the people, must have enjoyed them. The rehearsals finally ended in the big show, which was held on July 22nd, at midday in the schoolhouse clearing.

Don and I were off taking advantage of a low tide to work on profiles of the reef when a messenger came to tell us the dance was about to start. When we got there the men had already formed into a line along the north margin of the clearing. They were all dressed up, with bows of the ivory-like unfolded coconut leaves on arms and legs, with coconut-leaf skirts over loin-cloths, with necklaces of flowers and of the greenish-ivory coconut leaves, with garlands of flowers, and surmounting all, a block of pith over the forehead, wrapped in red paper and tinfoil (from cigarette packages) and bearing a cluster of tall white feathers (perhaps from the fairy terns; but more probably and prosaically from chickens). Faces were marked with red turmeric, a streak of red along the jawline, and dabs on the cheeks and arms.

They put on a fine show. Some of the pieces were songs or chants, with an accompaniment of stamping and clapping. Others involved more complicated gesturings and posturings. In one, two men standing with outstretched arms pantomimed man-of-war birds—tilting, soaring and gliding—while the rest knelt facing each other, chanting the